

\$400
NO



Challenge fee because
1st release was in error
- they processed HQ 80-380 instead of 1st
J. Dale Alford
appeal

U.S. Department of Justice

I did receive
copy from
1st file
on Alford
85-02
but still
am over
100 free

Federal Bureau of Investigation

Washington, D.C. 20535

See Alford
on HFS in
Cleared 2/17/59 serial #9

MR ERNIE LAZAR
APARTMENT 6
577 SOUTH THORNHILL ROAD
PALM SPRINGS, CA 92264 7884

July 30, 2007

Subject: FILE 80-380

FOIPA No. 1034752-001

Little look

80-380
#1 - #20

12/10/58 - 11/22/65

Dear Requester:

The enclosed documents were reviewed under the Freedom of Information/Privacy Acts (FOIPA), Title 5, United States Code, Section 552/552a. Deletions have been made to protect information which is exempt from disclosure, with the appropriate exemptions noted on the page next to the excision. In addition, a deleted page information sheet was inserted in the file to indicate where pages were withheld entirely. The exemptions used to withhold information are marked below and explained on the enclosed Form OPCA-16a:

Section 552

- ☐ (b)(1)
- ☐ (b)(2)
- ☐ (b)(3) _____
- _____
- _____
- ☐ (b)(4)
- ☐ (b)(5)
- ☒ (b)(6)

Section 552a

- ☐ (b)(7)(A)
- ☐ (b)(7)(B)
- ☐ (b)(7)(C)
- ☐ (b)(7)(D)
- ☐ (b)(7)(E)
- ☐ (b)(7)(F)
- ☐ (b)(8)
- ☐ (b)(9)
- ☐ (d)(5)
- ☐ (j)(2)
- ☐ (k)(1)
- ☐ (k)(2)
- ☐ (k)(3)
- ☐ (k)(4)
- ☐ (k)(5)
- ☐ (k)(6)
- ☐ (k)(7)

40 page(s) were reviewed and 40 page(s) are being released.

- ☐ Document(s) were located which originated with, or contained information concerning other Government agency(ies) [OGA]. This information has been:
 - ☐ referred to the OGA for review and direct response to you.
 - ☐ referred to the OGA for consultation. The FBI will correspond with you regarding this information when the consultation is finished.

☒ You have the right to appeal any denials in this release. Appeals should be directed in writing to the Director, Office of Information and Privacy, U.S. Department of Justice, 1425 New York Ave., NW, Suite 11050, Washington, D.C. 20530-0001 within sixty days from the date of this letter. The envelope and the letter should be clearly marked "Freedom of Information Appeal" or "Information Appeal." Please cite the FOIPA number assigned to your request so that it may be easily identified.

☐ The enclosed material is from the main investigative file(s) in which the subject(s) of your request was the focus of the investigation. Our search located additional references, in files relating to other individuals, or matters, which may or may not be about your subject(s). Our experience has shown, when ident, references usually contain information similar to the information processed in the main file(s). Because of our significant backlog, we have given priority to processing only the main investigative file(s). If you want the references, you must submit a separate request for them in writing, and they will be reviewed at a later date, as time and resources permit.

☒ See additional information which follows.

Sincerely yours,



David M. Hardy
Section Chief
Record/Information
Dissemination Section
Records Management Division

Enclosure(s)

As a result of your administrative appeal to the Office of Information and Privacy (OIP), Department of Justice (DOJ), material was located responsive to your request for information concerning your subject. The enclosed record was processed in response to your request for information from the FBI Little Rock Field Office, and the releasable information is enclosed.

Pursuant to Title 28, Code of Federal Regulations, Sections 16.11 and/or 16.49, there is a fee of ten cents per page for duplication. No fees are assessed for the first 100 pages. You have already received your 100 free pages associated with the subject of this request. Upon receipt of these documents please make a check or money order payable to the Federal Bureau of Investigation in the amount of \$ 4.00 for 40 released pages. To insure proper identification of your request, please return this letter or include the FOIPA request number(s) with your payment. Failure to pay for this interim release will close your current request as well as any pending FBI FOIA requests from you. Nonpayment will also cause an automatic denial of any future FOIA requests.

Director, FBI

December 10, 1958

SAC, Little Rock (80-380)

**DR. DALE ALFORD
CONGRESSMAN-ELECT
5TH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT OF ARKANSAS
INFORMATION CONCERNING**

Dr. DALE ALFORD, 115 East Capitol, Little Rock, Arkansas, an ophthalmologist, was elected Congressman from the 5th Congressional District of Arkansas, in November, 1958, as result of a write-in campaign in which he defeated incumbent and Democratic nominee, Congressman ~~BROOKS~~ HAYS.

✓ Until he resigned in the fall of 1958, Dr. ALFORD was a member of the Little Rock School Board. As such member, he publicly stated he was opposed to integration in Little Rock Central High School.

For approximately the past three years, Dr. ALFORD has treated the children of SA [redacted] who is assigned to the Little Rock Office, when his professional services were needed. The majority of these services have been on a continuing basis in connection with treatment of [redacted]
[redacted]

b6

Following the last professional visit to the office of Dr. ALFORD by SA [redacted] Dr. ALFORD discussed his recent election to the position of Congressman.

During this discussion, Dr. ALFORD stated he was prompted to seek election as Congressman by personal patriotic motives. He stated he is convinced in his own mind that attempts to integrate Little Rock Central High School, as well as other activities in the United States, have been instituted and encouraged by some subversive group or groups.

He called attention to the fact that during his medical education and career, he from necessity has

EB/gm
(3)

80-380-1

LR 80-380

associated with various professors and medical men throughout the United States who he feels have subversive ideas. He does not support or condone the attitudes of these persons. He feels he has some personal knowledge of the manner in which these persons operate in furtherance of their ideas. He called attention to the fact he once taught at Emory University. He stated he has no specific information to furnish to the FBI concerning the subversive nature or activities of any of these persons. He was informed the FBI is ready and willing to receive any information he might possess at any time.

He stated he long considered his candidacy for Congressman before he submitted himself as a candidate. He sought the position only after he became convinced he could possibly do something in his capacity as Congressman to combat subversive elements. He stated he is eager to do so and commented his income as Congressman would be about one-half of what it is in his present professional endeavor.

He stated subversive activity in the United States has been a matter of personal concern to him for quite some time, and he has attempted to learn more about this threat. He advised he has read the Director's book "Masters of Deceit" several times and has attempted to absorb all information contained in it. He is most favorably impressed with the book and has personally purchased fifteen copies which he has distributed to his friends with his personal encouragement they seriously consider the information contained in the book.

Dr. ALFORD stated his principal goal as Congressman is to become affiliated with the House Committee on Un-American Activities so he will be in the best possible position to combat Un-American activity in the United States. He recognizes he has little chance as a new member of Congress to become so affiliated.

Dr. ALFORD stated his desire is to discuss with the Director his ideas concerning Un-American

LR 80-380

activity in the United States, what he can do as Congressman to combat such activity, and to discuss with the Director the possible wisdom of his intended plans.

He respectfully asked SA [] if an interview with the Director for these purposes could be arranged. He asked if such request is reasonable and proper and if it could be handled through the Little Rock Office of the FBI.

b6

He emphasized he has great respect and admiration for the Director and the FBI and is in support of the work of the FBI.

He explained he was making inquiry through SA [] because he has become well acquainted with him because of past professional association.

Dr. ALFORD was informed his desires would be brought to the attention of the Director and was assured that if such meeting was at all possible the Director would meet with him for such purpose.

Dr. ALFORD advised he would be most happy to meet with the Director at any time designated and stated he is prepared to make a special trip to Washington at any time, either prior or subsequent to the time Congress convenes, to meet with the Director if such arrangements can be perfected.

It would appear satisfactory, should the Director deem appropriate, to suggest that Dr. DALE ALFORD contact the Bureau upon his arrival at Washington as Congressman and through a Bureau official arrange an appointment with the Director.

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC, Little Rock

DATE: December 18, 1958

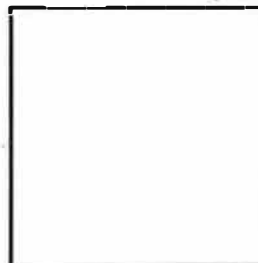
FROM : Director, FBI

SUBJECT: DR. DALE ALFORD
CONGRESSMAN-ELECT
5TH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT OF ARKANSAS
INFORMATION CONCERNING

Reurlet December 10, 1958.

In the event Dr. Alford contacts your office relative to further discussing the possibilities of an appointment with the Director, you should advise him that the Director is currently in travel status but has, of course, been notified of the Congressman's desire to meet with him in the future. Dr. Alford should be told, if he does call your office, that an FBI official will very definitely call by his office in the near future.

80-380-2



b6

Alford Assails FBI Vote Probe

By Richard L. Lyons
Staff Reporter

Rep. Dale Alford of Arkansas today accused the Justice Department yesterday of "illegal" and "politically inspired" action for investigating fraud charges at his write-in election over Brooks Hays last fall.

Alford also promised in a House speech to "present evidence" within 10 days that "subversive forces" are behind Little Rock's school trouble and the "so-called civil rights issue" throughout the country. An Arkansas state legislative committee so charged after hearings last fall, but has not revealed its evidence.

Routine Investigation

The Justice Department stated last month, in response to inquiries, that the FBI was checking complaints received from Alford's district.

Yesterday Assistant Attorney General W. Wilson White,

in charge of the Department's civil rights division, called it a routine election investigation similar to several others now under way involving members of both parties. He said it could lead to criminal prosecutions but could not change the election result.

Alford took a different view of it. He told the House he was "distressed" to report that "at this moment" FBI agents "are engaged in an invasion of the Fifth Congressional District of the State of Arkansas in what can be described only as a politically inspired investigation."

He said the FBI "has no place in questioning" residents of his district "on the circumstances surrounding the election of their representatives in this Congress. This is a matter reserved exclusively to the members of this House." He said it smacked of "gestapo" tactics and added that Arkansans are being "intimidated because they voted the dictates of their own conscience."

Alford, an outspoken segregationist, defeated Hays by 1200 votes after a last-minute write-in campaign in which Little Rock's school desegregation trouble was the main issue. Voters were handed paste-on stickers with which to vote for Alford. A special House elections committee heard charges of fraud and other irregularities and recommended that Alford not be seated pending full investigation. He was seated, no action has been taken on the House investigation and he apparently has been accepted as a Democrat.

Residents Complained

White said the Justice Department began its investigation after the FBI office in Little Rock received formal complaints from local residents. Agents are investigating two of several alleged violations: That some precincts reported more votes cast than voters registered, and that anonymous anti-Hays literature was circulated. Both acts would be a Federal criminal offense in an election to national office, said White.

"The Department would not be doing its duty," said White, "if it did not investigate formal complaints." White would not identify the complainants except to say they did not include Hays.

White said the Justice Department is not interested in who won the election, but in whether a Federal crime was committed. He said he knew of no case where a Federal court had changed an election result or thrown out any votes where fraud was proved. The election result is a matter for the state courts or the House itself to decide, said White.

80-380-3

THE WASHINGTON POST AND TIMES HERALD
FEBRUARY 12, 1959

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC, Little Rock (80-380)

DATE: February 12, 1959

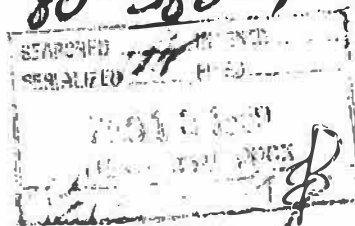
FROM : Director, FBI

SUBJECT: CONGRESSMAN DALE ALFORD
INFORMATION CONCERNING

By letter of December 10, 1958, you submitted data concerning Alford. Attached for your information is a copy of a current newspaper clipping which shows Alford's attitude toward this Bureau. His comments in the House of Representatives are nothing more than a smear against the FBI.

This certainly indicates that we must always be on the alert in evaluating individuals. We cannot afford to be taken in by sweet talk, but we must always look at the actions behind the words.

Enclosure



SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
MAY 1 1960	
FBI - LITTLE ROCK	

80-380-5

(Not printed at Government expense)

Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 86th CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION

Investigation of Alford-Hays Election

SPEECH

HON. DALE ALFORD

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 11, 1959

Mr. ALFORD. Mr. Speaker, it distresses me to report that at this moment, the agents of the admired and respected Federal Bureau of Investigation, under orders from the present administration of the Justice Department of the United States of America, are engaged in an invasion of the Fifth Congressional District of the State of Arkansas, in what can be described only as a politically inspired investigation. Permit me at this time, to read in toto an editorial which appeared last Sunday, February 8, in the distinguished conservative daily newspaper, the Arkansas Democrat. I quote as follows:

WHO WANTED AN INVESTIGATION?

Raised eyebrows greeted announcement that the FBI had stepped into the Alford-Hays election. Subsequent revelations at Justice Department press conferences failed to remove the cause for wonderment.

"An investigation is being made," a Department spokesman said, "to see if Federal laws were violated in the election."

The request for the investigation, according to the Department, had come from a reputable official. Who asked for the investigation?

Brooks Hays has disclaimed any connection with it—as he did the protest filed by John Wells, Recorder publisher.

Mr. Speaker, may I say aside here that the Recorder, John Wells—editor and

publisher, is a purely political publication having a circulation of approximately 3,000—a weekly publication from the same presses which also print the Daisy Bates newspaper, mouthpiece for the NAACP in Arkansas. Now, I continue with the editorial.

The current issue of the Recorder sees the investigation as an outgrowth of the recent hearing before a House committee.

It's doubtful that the Justice Department would usurp the prerogative of Congress in jumping into a case still filed in the committee's unfinished business folder. The FBI's reputation for doing a job ranks high with all Americans.

But being ordered to investigate an election in which the victory was an outspoken anti to the Justice Department's philosophy could easily be interpreted as political persecution. Such use of the agency could brand the G-men as an Americanized gestapo.

An investigation of a questioned election is in order. But such investigations should originate, not with a reputable official in Washington, but with the injured parties—the defeated candidate and the voters in the election area.

If politics dictated the FBI's entry into the election case, it's a sad day for the Nation—and suggests the Justice Department is misnamed.

Press releases quote Attorney General Rogers as saying a reputable official requested the investigation. This is not the first time we have had illegal intervention into the affairs of our State by this administration. In a book entitled "The Case of the Sleeping People," written by my wife and myself, to be released this week, we call attention to the fact

that the people of our area have been finally awakened by Little Rock school frustrations and the occupation of a peaceful community by a combat division with fixed bayonets and loaded rifles ordered to police a public high school supported solely by the people of a sovereign State. In this book we call attention to the fact that as late as last September the present Attorney General set himself and his Department against the rights of a free American people guaranteed them under the Constitution of the United States.

In the present politically inspired investigation they are asking questions—interviewing residents of my district—seeking to document a series of politically inspired charges concerning my election to the House of Representatives. The obvious political overtone of this unwarranted use of our Federal investigative force is best demonstrated by the fact that these agents are asking questions on only one side of the proposition. They are not concerned with the whole story of what happened last November when the people of my district decided they had grown tired of inaction and had grown tired of subservience to an all-powerful central Federal administration.

It is more distressing to me that this is not the first such invasion of the Fifth Congressional District of Arkansas by the Federal Bureau of Investigation on orders from the, then, Attorney General of the Justice Department. We know that this is embarrassing to the loyal agents of this distinguished service of our Government. The FBI is not to be condemned; they are merely obeying orders from above albeit these orders are shaded by political retribution.

Little more than a year ago, they swarmed into the district by the dozens—yes, by the scores under direction of the Justice Department—in an effort to justify an equally as unwarranted and illegal use of Federal police powers in a

matter reserved to the discretion of the States. Then, as now, they sought information on only one side of the issue—they sought only evidence that would support the politically inspired action of the Department of Justice—yes, even the politically inspired action of the executive department of our Government. Then, as now, the Federal police powers were diverted from their intended purpose—in which the FBI always has enjoyed the approbation of the American people—to a scheme that borders on being nefarious.

They interrogated hundreds of people. Guns in shoulder holsters, they came in teams into the newspaper offices to question reporters—to demand access to private files—and they asked questions on only one side of the issue. They sought out newspaper reporters in their homes—invading their privacy—and when all else failed, they attempted to wheedle out hearsay information that might support the political position that had been dictated from above.

I say this is an unhealthy situation in America.

There is no room in America for a police state—a Gestapo, if you please—engaged in the political solrees aimed at any who may take issue with those who are presently, although temporarily, in power. And I say that, if this condition is permitted to continue, then the name of the Department of Justice should be changed—for it certainly is a misnomer.

I welcome an investigation, but it is my feeling that the FBI has no place in questioning residents of the Fifth Congressional District of Arkansas on the circumstances surrounding the selection of their Representative in this Congress. I repeat, that is a matter reserved exclusively to the Members of this House. And I have every confidence in the ability and the intent of the Members of this House—and their duly constituted committees—to decide fairly and impartially

upon the question of whether I shall serve as the Representative of the Fifth District of Arkansas.

It is my understanding that there are several Members of this distinguished body whose margin of victory was much narrower than mine. Yet, it is strange, indeed, that apparently, to our knowledge, there is no investigation by the Justice Department in these elections. Just why is the Justice Department investigating the Fifth District of Arkansas if it is not for political persecution? Just what are they seeking? Who is the responsible official who ordered such an investigation? Certainly the FBI was not ordered by any committee of this House, for this distinguished body is capable of carrying out its own investigation.

Mr. Speaker, I resent with all the power that is in me the loosing of the Federal police upon my constituents. And I suggest that it is time this House let the Department know—and in no uncertain terms—that it will no longer tolerate such politically-inspired activities by the Federal Bureau of Investigation on orders from the Justice Department.

Within the next 10 days I shall be prepared to present evidence to this House that subversive forces are the real masters of deceit behind the school crisis and the so-called civil rights issue in

America today. Do the people of the Fifth District of Arkansas have no civil rights?

I submit to this most distinguished legislative body that my motives are honorable and patriotic and that I represent a people who resent being ground under the heel of a combat division and now are intimidated by the present administration simply because they, the people, voted the dictates of their own conscience.

The present administration has torn to shreds the 14th amendment and the 10th amendment—and now, if we loyal Americans permit these Gestapo-like methods to continue, we shall be, in fact, under a dictatorship—and the ninth amendment, too, will have been illegally destroyed. The question I leave with you is whether or not political intimidation and retribution is the American way or whether we will defend the right of every American, whether from your district or mine, to have his vote counted without fear of reprisal.

In America today we stand between two great mountain peaks of disaster, atheistic communism, on the one hand, and dictatorship through judicial fiat on the other. In the valley between these two monstrous evil forces the small voice of patriotic Americans cries out for simple justice.

Director, FBI

3/4/59

SAC, Little Rock (80-380)

CONGRESSMAN RALPH ALFORD
INFORMATION CONCERNING

There is forwarded herewith for the Bureau's information a reprint from the Congressional Record apparently being mailed to all registered voters in Congressman ALFORD's congressional district. It will be observed that these are the remarks of Congressman ALFORD made on February 11, 1959, wherein Congressman ALFORD engages in a smear against the FBI.

This is another example of the FAUDUS - ALFORD political machine operating in Arkansas, particularly in the Little Rock area.

2 - Bureau (Enclosure - 1)
2 - Little Rock (80-380) (56-380)
JJC/rp
(4)



80-380-6

3/5/59

SAC, Little Rock (80-380)

**CONGRESSMAN DALE ALFORD
INFORMATION CONCERNING**

For the information of the Bureau, U. S. Attorney OSBO COBB, for the Eastern District of Arkansas, Little Rock, Arkansas, advised the SAC on 3/5/59 that recently when Congressman DALE ALFORD was in Little Rock in connection with an appearance he made before the Arkansas State Legislature, he, COBB, accidentally ran into ALFORD at the Freiderica Pharmacy, which is a drug store across the street from the Federal Building in Little Rock. On this occasion, Mr. COBB stated, he called to the attention of the Congressman that the Department of Justice was not investigating him or his election as such, but rather was investigating to see if there was a violation of Federal law under the Federal Election Law Statute. According to U. S. Attorney COBB, ALFORD seemed amazed and delighted to hear this.

Mr. COBB stated he clearly pointed out to ALFORD that it was his responsibility to prosecute violations of these laws, and he would do so impartially. He told ALFORD that any prosecution handled by his office would deal sternly with all parties who violated the law, irrespective of who they supported or how they voted.

JJC/rp
(3)

80-380-7

Alford Sends Carpenter To Little Rock

Gazette Washington Bureau
1203 National Press Building

Washington, April 7.—Claude Carpenter Jr. has left his \$13,344-a-year post as administrative assistant to Representative Dale Alford of Little Rock and has been reassigned as the congressman's district representative at \$5,000 annually.

The payroll change became effective April 1, Dr. Alford said, and Carpenter will leave for Little Rock tomorrow.

Carpenter, former aide to Governor Faubus, will be employed part-time with an office at the National Old Line Building where he has law offices with Roy Finch Jr. Alford said the office would not be any expense to the government.

The transfer of Carpenter was not due to any office friction, Alford said.

The congressman and Mrs. Alford, who encouraged the segregationist doctor to enter politics and has worked closely with him in organizing his office, expressed full confidence in Carpenter.

"We're both crazy about him, Dale and I," Mrs. Alford said.

Alford said Carpenter's knowledge of the Fifth District and his many contacts with people in the District means the transfer will result in better service.

Post Vacant

Carpenter's post has not been filled. The Alford office staff is composed of Mrs. Ann Davenport of Conway, who has been there since January, and Mrs. Robin Sayes, who was employed recently after Mrs. Gertrude Gullat left.

(Dr. Alford is still using his medical office on his trips to Little Rock and has not applied for office in the Federal Building. Space is available there if he wants it, though—two rooms, just as Brooks Hays had two rooms before he was beaten by Alford last November).

RE: INTEGRATION IN
PUBLIC SCHOOLS
IN LITTLE ROCK

OR: C33; 00J

Bufile 44-12264

LR 44-341

ARKANSAS GAZETTE
ARKANSAS DEMOCRAT
LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS

DATE

PAGE

80-380-8

Director, FBI

5/11/59

SAC, Little Rock (80-380)

**CONGRESSMAN DALE ALFORD
INFORMATION CONCERNING**

There is forwarded herewith for the Bureau's information a reprint from the Congressional Record, 86th Congress, First Session, of a speech made before the House by Congressman DALE ALFORD, of Arkansas, on Tuesday, February 17, 1959. This reprint is entitled "Subversive Activity in the South" and has been mailed to the registered voters in Congressman ALFORD's Congressional District.

The Bureau's attention is called to Congressman ALFORD's reference to the FBI as "our respected and most efficient Federal Bureau of Investigation", and to his statement, "May I say here that any inference which might be gleaned from any public utterance which I have ever made must not and should not be construed or interpreted as being uncomplimentary to the FBI and its loyal agents. I am critical of their political superiors, the Justice Department, but until this present moment the Federal Bureau of Investigation is without a peer in its efficiency."

Congressman ALFORD then goes on to laud the Director's book, "Masters of Deceit", and recommends that this book should be required reading in every high school in the land.

The above is submitted for the information of the Bureau.

Enclosure  - 1

JJC/rp
(3)

DO NOT DESTROY - PENDING LITIGATION

Note to SA JOHNSON: Read and index the enclosure.

JJC

*These index
attached as marked
WBJ*



WBJ

80-380-9

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(Not printed at Government expense)

Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 86th CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION

Subversive Activity in the South

SPEECH
OF

HON. DALE ALFORD

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 17, 1959

Mr. ALFORD. Mr. Speaker, I humbly beg the indulgence of this distinguished body in my "speaking out," as it were, so soon in the 86th Congress, but I am concerned that our Justice Department yields to pressure from an organization such as the NAACP and strikes out with lightninglike speed within the past month to overturn the will of a majority to satisfy the propagandizing desires of a minority of a minority. We must never forget that majority rule is the democratic way in America—not rule by minority or dictatorship. Are there no rights beholden to the majority?

I wish to preface these remarks with the statement that I am certainly not one of those individuals who looks under the bed at night to ascertain whether a Communist is hiding there.

Frankly, however, I am alarmed at the complacency of some officials toward the menace of the Communist conspiracy—to transform our representative government into a centralized, totalitarian dictatorship, to abolish property rights, and to make this great Nation of ours part of a one-world government, operated from Moscow.

The Director of our respected and most efficient Federal Bureau of Investigation—the Honorable J. Edgar Hoover—has told us that the two great dangers to this country are communism and corruption. May I say here that any inference which might be gleaned from any public utterance which I have ever made must not and should not be construed or interpreted as being uncomplimentary to the FBI and its loyal

agents. I am critical of their political superiors, the Justice Department, but until this present moment the Federal Bureau of Investigation is without a peer in its efficiency. Our FBI Director, as we all know, has published a very fine book—a book which I personally believe should be required reading in every high school in the land. Its title is "Masters of Deceit." In this great contribution to the security of America, he has documented well the Communist objective to destroy the Government of the United States, as well as other representative, free governments of the world. I repeat that Mr. Hoover has told us that the two great dangers to this country are communism and corruption—and I respectfully call your attention to the fact that the Director mentions communism as the first of these two great dangers.

I shall respectfully present today proof that racial agitation is a major weapon of the Communist party—and that many of the racial incidents of the past 25 or 30 years can be traced directly to Communist leadership and direction.

I have here an offset reproduction of a pamphlet, published in 1938, entitled "American Negro Problems." It is a program to promote racial strife in the United States, presented by a representative of Moscow. His original name was Joseph Pogany. He has masqueraded in our country under such aliases as John Pepper, John Swartz, and John Swift. On page 12 of this document, this Communist leader tells plainly that the propaganda line for work among the Negroes is to emphasize plans for establishment of a Negro Soviet Republic in the South.

America has grown great with the traditional social system that has been maintained until the present time. Our social system with respect to races has been part of the very fiber of our social

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DESTROY - PENDING LITIGATION

Read & Index

b6

structure in every section of our country—although more strictly adhered to in some sections because of the large percentage of a particular minority. There was nothing mean or violent or malignant about our social structure; good will among all men was practiced every day in the easygoing boundaries of our social life. The Negro was encouraged in his education and we shared his joy and his sorrow; we were there when he was sick and ready to counsel when called upon. A healthy social system was developed, the like of which has never been known before. Under this system the Negro made more progress than in any other country in the world. We of the Southland were for the Negro with our hearts and not just with bayonets. But, in more recent years, especially since the militant strides of international communism, there have been a few leaders who pushed a few well-meaning people into militant action. I am convinced that a few of our good Negro citizens have become pawns of this international conspiracy without being conscious, in the beginning, of its vicious intent of creating mass agitation to divide and conquer the greatest democracy that has ever appeared on the scene of world history. The white friends were not disturbed at first over the militant march of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Southern people are traditionally and basically friendly, and no intelligent Southern white would ever think of being cruel or unkind. It would have been a sign of improper upbringing. The South, both white and colored, was happy with the evolutionary method of progress, but illegal and military enforcement of destruction of age-old social customs with overnight speed has played into the hands of the Communist Party.

Yes, it was back in the 1920's that Communists began telling Negroes about plans to take over the southern part of the United States, secede from the rest of our country, and establish a "black Soviet." Fantastic? Yes, but not fantasy. This is a well-established fact, documented by the official Communist press by former Communists who have left the party and testified before congressional committees and Government agencies, and by undercover agents of the FBI, who went into the party to obtain proof of its subversive activity.

And these same sources have produced the proof that since 1928, when the Sixth World Congress of the party sent out the Communist program for propagandizing the American Negroes, the Communists have been exploiting the Negro to divide the people of the United States.

I am sure that many Members of this House will recall, when Federal troops occupied Little Rock in the fall of 1957, that the television newsreels and press of the Nation carried a scene that purported to show a white woman "befriending and comforting" a young Negro girl who had left her new modern Horace Mann High School to enter the 33-year-old Central High School. Of course, the reporters and photographers had no way of knowing that scene was a staged affair. However, an inquiry would have revealed that the white woman was the notorious Grace Lorch—the well-known former Grace Lonergan, a Communist functionary, whose record is in the files of the FBI, the Senate Internal Security Committee and the House Committee on Un-American Activities. Files of both the House and Senate committees mentioned contain evidence that Mrs. Lorch was identified in Boston, 9 years ago, as a Communist organizer, that she attended the Massachusetts Communist Convention in 1943, and that she was a member of the New England District of the Communist Party in 1945. Her yeoman service to the Communist apparatus was so great that she was sent to Arkansas, via Nashville, Tenn., and other points, to help create racial incidents in my State. She and her husband, Lee Lorch, moved into a home in the neighborhood of Daisy Bates of the NAACP.

Grace and Lee Lorch were in Little Rock in the summer of 1957—just before the school crisis in the fall—where Lee Lorch was a teacher at Philander Smith College, a Negro institution. He was placed on the faculty of Philander Smith after having been fired from Fisk University, a Negro college at Nashville, Tenn. Fisk authorities declined to renew his contract after he had hidden behind the first and fifth amendments in refusing to answer questions at hearings regarding his Communist affiliations. Lee Lorch, during the early period he spent in Little Rock, was financed, in part, by an appropriation from Congress, since the National Science Foundation

provided a grant of \$9,800 made toward the salary of Professor Lorch. The shocking thing about this is that the grant was made after Lorch had been separated from the faculties of City College of New York, Pennsylvania State University, and Fisk University because of his refusal to answer questions concerning his Communist affiliations. Professor Lorch was identified as a Communist in 1950 hearings of the House Committee on Un-American Activities. The identification was by two former FBI undercover agents. He and Grace Lorch have figured in other congressional hearings since he was unfrocked in 1950. While teaching at Fisk University in 1954, he declined to answer questions of the House Committee on Un-American Activities concerning his Communist affiliations. Within hours after this defiance, Fisk authorities announced his contract would not be renewed.

Shortly thereafter, Professor Lorch was employed by Philander Smith College in Little Rock, a Negro institution, by its president, M. Lafayette Harris, who is a director of the Southern Conference Educational Fund. Public records, on file with the House Committee on Un-American Activities, show that M. Lafayette Harris has been identified in activity of Communist-front groups no less than a half-dozen times.

Grace Lorch proved she is an expert at racial agitation when she staged the exhibition of alleged friendship by putting her arms around the Negro girl, being very careful to receive the full attention of unsuspecting newsreel cameramen. This is the scene with which you are all so familiar. Grace Lorch performed her assignment well, for she was rewarded for this stunt when the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee transported her to New York and there sponsored a \$10 per plate dinner in her honor. The Emergency Civil Liberties Committee is a shock-troop or commando-type group allied with Communist-dominated civil liberties agitation. The Communists have developed a great money-raising vehicle in their program of race agitation in the South. They encourage and promote racial incidents, create and ballyhoo a hero or heroine, then bring them to the East for a series of rabble-raising dinners and rallies. Of course they pass the hat around at these meetings to bring in the filthy

lucre of this, as they dub us, "imperialistic, capitalistic nation."

In this objective the Communist bosses have succeeded well. Never before, in the history of mankind, has a nation become so divided by such a propaganda campaign—known in modern-day parlance as psychological warfare.

Let us look at Daisy Lee Bates, the head of the NAACP in Little Rock, and her husband, Lucius Christopher Bates. Records of the Louisiana State police show that they were arrested in Monroe, La., on November 16, 1934. Lucius was convicted of carrying a concealed weapon and was fined \$100. Daisy was held for investigation and was released with Lucius when he paid the fine. Back in 1952 before the Bateses became so prominent in the NAACP they were both arrested by Little Rock police and paid fines for gambling. Each was also convicted of contempt of court in North Little Rock. The name of Lucius Bates is listed as a member of the board of directors of an organization known as the Southern Conference Educational Fund which was established after its predecessor, the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, was declared a Communist-front by the House Committee on Un-American Activities, 1947.

This same Daisy Bates is also a national officer in the NAACP, the same organization whose national officers and national committee members, I am reliably informed, have a record of some 2,000 instances of Communist activity; 145 out of 238 national officers and national committee members have records of Communist activity.

Very convincing is the record of James E. Jackson, Jr., a Moscow-trained Negro, who has been in the forefront of Communist organization work in a number of States, both North and South, for some 15 or 20 years or more. Unless he has left Russia in the past few days, this Communist, James Jackson, is even now in Moscow. He went to the Soviet Union several days ago to attend the 21st world congress of the Communist Party. The National Americanism Commission of the American Legion, in its publication, The Firing Line, calls attention to testimony, in the files of the Louisiana Legislative Committee, reflecting that the Southern Regional Council was formed by James E. Jackson, identified as a southern organizer of the Communist Party.

Permit me to quote from the May 15, 1957, issue of The Firing Line.

Records of the American Legion reveal a definite trend of interrelationship between the Southern Regional Council and the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, a defunct Communist-front organization.

That is the Southern Conference for Human Welfare—the organization which went out of business after it was cited and was replaced by the Southern Conference Educational Fund. James Dombrowski was executive secretary of SCHW. He holds the same position with the SCEF, which continued in the same headquarters at New Orleans and with the same telephone number that was formerly assigned to the SCHW. After hearings in New Orleans, in 1954, the Senate Internal Security Committee issued a report, stating that the SCEF—and I quote—"is operating with substantially the same leadership and purposes as its predecessor organization," the Southern Conference for Human Welfare.

But let us return briefly to the Communist, James Jackson, the man who was credited by the Communist Daily Worker on December 2, 1954, with having formed the Southern Regional Council. Parenthetically, permit me to remind you that Daisy Bates, the head of the NAACP in Arkansas, is a director in the Southern Regional Council setup. This council established 12 auxiliary groups known as State Councils on Human Relations. These State councils, mind you, were established only in 12 Southern States. Not one chapter was established outside the South.

One of the incorporators of the Arkansas Council on Human Relations is Harry Ashmore, the renegade journalist who is editor of the Arkansas Gazette in Little Rock, and who has profited quite materially in the capitalistic line by writing detrimental articles about his native Southland. This same Harry Ashmore was, and still is, a director of the foundation which provided approximately a half million dollars to finance and operate the Southern Regional Council.

I have here with me the highlights of the record of James Jackson, Jr. It shows that he has been an active top Communist Party worker in Virginia, Louisiana, Arkansas, Alabama, Michigan, New York, California, and other

States. One of the titles he held was as southern regional director of the Communist Party. He was also the moving influence behind an organization called the Southern Negro Youth Congress. He once headed communistic activity in Louisiana. And after Pine Bluff, Ark., and Little Rock, Ark., had been designated by Moscow as areas to be colonized for Communist-led race agitation, this James Jackson conducted the Arkansas survey to determine the intensity of agitation necessary to divide the people of my State. His yeoman service brought him advancement to alternate membership of the Communist National Committee. He has conducted Communist training schools and lecture courses in the party's program to brainwash and indoctrinate American Negroes.

James E. Jackson was one of the Communists convicted in New York in July 1956 for violating the Smith Act. Evidence showed he and his comrades had conspired to overthrow the Government of the United States by force and violence. But his 2-year sentence was set aside by the Warren-Myrdal Supreme Court in August 1958. The Court has freed a number of Communists convicted of conspiracy to overthrow our Government by force, under a ruling that mere teaching of forcible overthrow did not measure up to a call to action. And so, this Communist, Jackson, was freed to return to the South, to help promote race agitation in Arkansas, and to go to Moscow this year as a representative of the Communist Party, U.S.A., at the 21st World Congress of the Communists.

I have in my possession more detailed records concerning the communistic activity of this man, James Jackson. He has spearheaded the organization and promotion of the Communist conspiracy at the Ford Motor Co. in Detroit; served as a delegate and emissary to national and international meetings and conventions of the party; taught in Communist brainwashing and indoctrination schools, and helped to establish and promote front organizations to enlist the unwitting support of well-intentioned, but oft-misguided, dupes.

Traveling about the South today, distributing the doctrine of totalitarian government, is a husband-wife team by name of Carl and Ann Braden. Carl

Braden is free to roam the Nation, these days, because of a ruling by the U.S. Supreme Court that Federal statutes against sedition have preempted State sedition laws. Braden is now a field secretary for the Southern Conference Educational Fund, which was formed after the SCHW was revealed as a Communist front. As a Communist boss in Louisville, Ky., Carl Braden was indicted on charges of sedition in Jefferson Circuit Court, State of Kentucky. He was convicted in December 1954, subsequently sentenced to 15 years' imprisonment and fined \$5,000. Evidence at the trial, with the prosecution conducted by State's Attorney Scott Hamilton, showed that Braden purchased a home in a suburban Louisville community occupied exclusively by white families and, then, transferred ownership to a Negro named Wade. It was further shown at the trial that the home was dynamited on June 27, 1954, and the grand jury determined, after visiting the scene of the crime, that the dynamiting was "an inside job" perpetrated to create an incident. The prosecution maintained that Braden was the "common denominator" of the explosion. Shortly after this home purchasing and bombing incident, Carl Braden received a letter from a comrade who signed his name as "Al," otherwise unidentified in the trial record. The letter stated that the latest project of the Bradens—the Wade home acquisition—constituted a "breach in the wall" of what Comrade Al referred to as "the real estate trust." Al told Carl and Ann their project "left us breathless."

Prosecutor Scott Hamilton and Kentucky Attorney General Jo M. Ferguson appeared before the Senate Internal Security Committee at Memphis in October, 1957, to urge that Congress pass legislation to restore State antisedition laws. Mr. Hamilton repeated at the hearing the story of the dynamiting in June, 1953, of a Negro store at Manchester, Ky. The Commonwealth's attorney was asked by the Internal Security Committee Counsel whether he was "making the point that perhaps the Communists, themselves," were responsible for the bombings. Mr. Hamilton replied: "That is the construction we put on it."

As I stated before, Carl Braden is now working as field secretary for the Southern Conference Educational Fund. The

Supreme Court ruling in the Steve Nelson sedition case in Pennsylvania gave Braden his freedom from conviction in the case of the Kentucky dynamiting. But Comrade Carl has another conviction hanging over him today. Last summer, he was summoned as a witness at hearings in Atlanta of the House Committee on Un-American Activities. There he refused to answer questions concerning his Communist activity. The committee was investigating Communist influences in industrial plants of the South. Braden and his comrade, Frank Wilkinson, a party leader from Los Angeles, were indicted by a Federal grand jury for contempt of Congress. They were tried and convicted at the January term of court in Atlanta.

And while we are on this Atlanta hearing of last July, Mr. Speaker, permit me to respectfully call to the attention of the House the most praiseworthy results obtained by the Committee on Un-American Activities from this investigation. When the committee chairman, the Honorable FRANCIS E. WALTER, of Pennsylvania, announced the investigation of Communist infiltration of southern industries, there was immediately instituted a propaganda campaign ridiculing the suggestion that there might be Communist influences in industrial plants of the South. Editorials of prominent newspapers were published, apparently designed to discourage the investigation. News stories about plans for the hearing were brief, many being buried on the inside pages. But before the hearings were concluded, the story was transferred to page 1, column 8. The investigation produced evidence that Communist colonizers had taken jobs in industries of our section of the country. One reluctant witness, a Mrs. Madge Cole, who holds a bachelor's degree from Cornell and a master's from Syracuse, was shown to be working on a loom in a Greensboro, N.C., textile plant. She was identified by Armando Pehng, former undercover agent for the FBI, as a colonizer for the party. Her application for a textile worker's job made no reference whatever to her university degrees. Another witness, equally as reluctant, was a young man named William Robertson III, a graduate of the University of North Carolina, where he has also pursued postgraduate studies.

He was employed as a sweeper in a Durham textile mill, and his application

for employment also conveniently omitted information about his college training.

The attitude of all the hostile witnesses, with Communist or "front" records, who were summoned to the Atlanta hearings, was that they had been subpoenaed because they were supporting the move for forced racial integration.

Mr. Speaker, before I conclude these remarks, I desire to point out that there existed in certain southern colleges and universities Communist cells, where even faculty members, with Communist records, were leaders in race agitation.

Proof of the existence of a Communist cell at the University of Tennessee School of Medicine in Memphis was uncovered at the October, 1957, hearings of the Senate Internal Security Committee. Dr. Ralph Franklin, a reputable physician now practicing at Morehouse, Mo., told the committee he had been influenced by a Dr. Vincent Myers to become a comrade while he was studying medicine in Memphis. He said he was shocked into quitting the party after learning of its subversive objectives. I wish to add my commendation of Dr. Franklin for the clean breast he made when he testified and for his patriotic contribution to the security of our country in publicly standing up to reveal ramifications of the insidious Communist conspiracy in our section of the Nation.

Mr. Speaker, while I am alarmed at the seeming general lack of concern by the American people toward this menace of Communist subversion, I am most gratified that we have in this country—in the Congress and in private life, from every section of our great Nation—patient patriots, who refuse to become discouraged.

The Legislature of the great State of Tennessee, only a few days ago, authorized an investigation of Communist influences in Highlander Folk School at Mont-eagle, Tenn. This school was founded in 1932 by Myles Horton and Don West. It is a southern meeting place for persons who have been leaders in race agitation for many years. Many who have gone in and out of Highlander Folk School meetings have records of affiliations with Communist and Communist-front organizations that, when listed, would cover several pages of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

498433—69550

There is an impression among some of our citizens outside the South that leaders of our section, who are dedicated to resistance to forced integration, have sought to raise the issue of Communist influences in race agitation as a smoke screen to hamper the integration movement. Little notice has been taken of the startling revelations by the Louisiana Legislative Committee, the Georgia Commission on Education, the Arkansas Investigating Committee, the Florida Legislative Investigating Committee, and other leadership groups.

I quote in part from the conclusion of the special education committee of the Arkansas Legislative Council, which held hearings at the State capitol in Little Rock on December 16 through December 18, 1958:

The basic question presented for determination by this committee is: "Has there been subversion present in Arkansas which has encouraged racial unrest?"

It is a matter of common knowledge that communism thrives where strife, tension, turmoil, and chaos is present. Arkansas became a State of the Union in 1836; peace, progress, and tranquility marked the attitude of all our people for the next 122 years. This committee has found that the incident which occurred at Little Rock on September 2, 1957, was not something that just happened overnight. It was planned, schemed, calculated, and had as its motivating factor the international Communist conspiracy of world domination squarely behind the entire shocking episode.

The people of Arkansas are basically men of good will. Communism heretofore has always been something that happened elsewhere, but the record reflects that for a number of years fellow travelers, dupes, and those who make a career out of being duped, have fittted in and out of Arkansas, and while here, they sowed the seeds of dissension and discord.

The committee has wondered who sent for Clarence Laws, discredited field representative of the NAACP and who was discharged from the Army for security reasons; who sent for Dr. Vernon McDaniel, protege of the notorious Gommilion, who travels in harness with Communists such as Aubrey Williams, Abner W. Berry, James A. Dombrowski; and who sent for Grace and Lee Lorch, identified Communists; and who paid Clarence Laws for his work in Arkansas. In answering these questions, the committee learned which individuals actively worked for a political party whose candidate would not sign a non-Communist affidavit; that known Communists—Farmer and Pushkarsky—

worked in such close accord with the candidate and the above individuals that it makes incredible a claim of innocence. One of these individuals was the State president of the NAACP, and her husband, who has been a national director of an organization which is a successor to an organization listed as subversive for a number of years.

To answer these questions one need merely read the transcript of the sworn testimony produced in public at the 3-day hearing. The testimony under oath and the documentary evidence introduced in connection therewith, makes it apparent that there has been and now is subversion present in the racial unrest in our State.

End of quotation from the conclusion of the special education committee of the Arkansas Legislative Council.

490433—69550

Mr. Speaker, it behooves patriotic American citizens from every section—North, East, West, and South—to take a long, serious objective look at the well-organized, well-financed campaign of the Communist Party to divide the people of our great Nation, destroy our representative form of government and establish a Moscow-dominated totalitarian dictatorship in Washington.

This great Republic was established by our Founding Fathers as an indestructible union of indestructible, sovereign States. So long as we perpetuate the principles of State sovereignty and local self-government, we need have no fear that ideologies from across the sea will destroy us.

Faubus Feels Alford Unhurt

Governor Faubus said yesterday that the endorsement of Representative Alford of Little Rock by Teamsters President James R. Hoffa would not hurt Alford politically.

"I think Alford is well enough known by his people that they are confident he wouldn't be dictated to by someone that far away," Mr. Faubus said.

Hoffa called for the re-election of Alford in a secret memorandum to his lieutenants. The Teamsters boss also called for the defeat of Senator McClellan (Dem., Ark.). Both McClellan and Alford are up for re-election this year.

Mr. Faubus said he felt that Hoffa's recommended defeat of McClellan would help the latter win re-election. McClellan has not indicated whether he will run again.

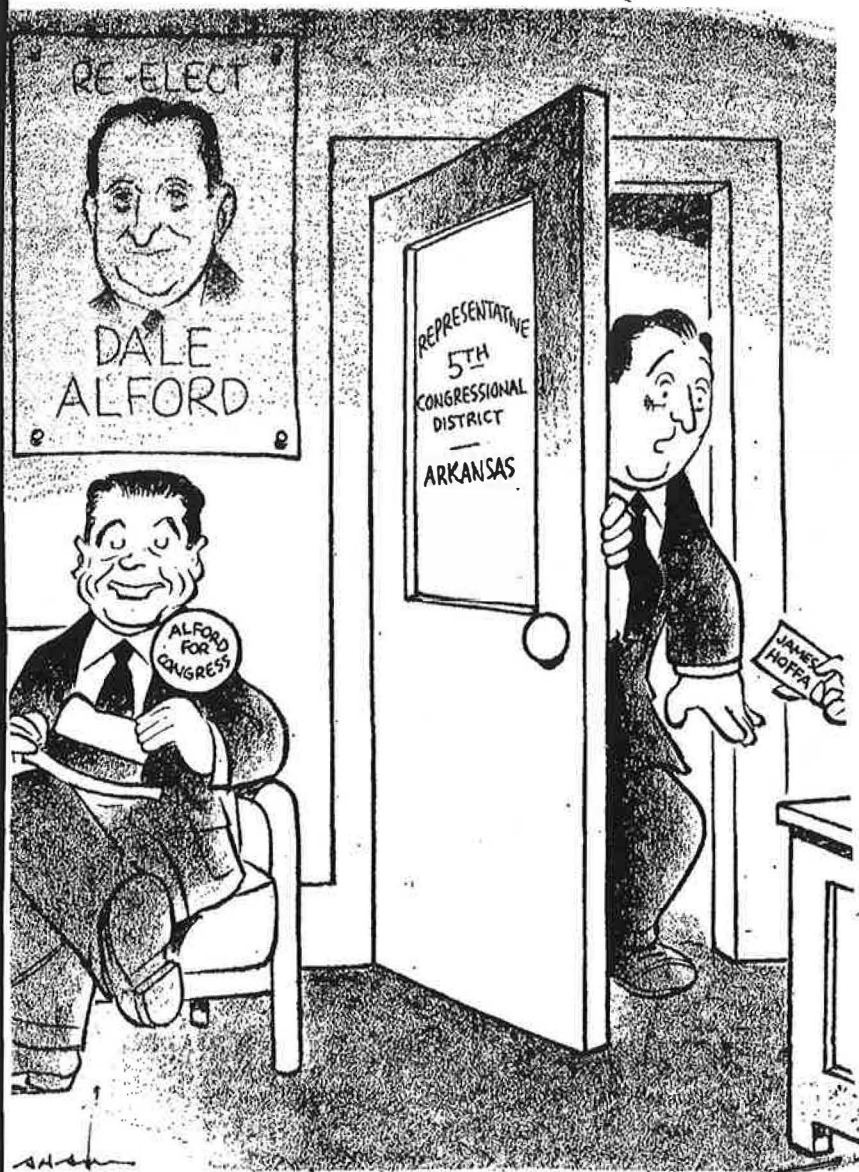
"I think that it [Hoffa's objection to McClellan] will discourage opposition," Mr. Faubus said of McClellan's probable bid for re-election.

Mr. Faubus didn't want to get too embroiled in commenting on the Hoffa letter on Arkansas elections. He said he didn't want to get too deep in other races before he knew what he himself was going to do.

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"Who?!"



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The Dubious Blessing Of James R. Hoffa 216

IF A MAN is to be judged by his enemies, then Senator John L. McClellan of Arkansas won an accolade in the public disclosure of the contents of a confidential memorandum on congressional politics drawn up by Teamster Boss James R. Hoffa.

Indeed Mr. Hoffa, cast out by the great labor federation and beleaguered in unending investigations, has come to be publicly identified with the seamier side of the labor movement. This accounts for the broad grin lighting up Mr. McClellan's face when he heard that he was formally upon the Teamster "purge list."

Yet, as we contemplate the Arkansas section of Mr. Hoffa's comprehensive memorandum, we cannot be even faintly surprised in finding the senator thus marked for defeat. He was chairman of the committee that set in motion forces that threaten Mr. Hoffa's overthrow. What's more intriguing is the blessing which the Teamster boss conferred upon two other figures in Arkansas politics—Supreme Court Justice Jim Johnson and Congressman Dale Alford.

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MR. HOFFA recommended Congressman Alford, in his anticipated bid for reelection, and Justice Jim Johnson, as a possible challenger against Mr. McClellan. These endorsements were pegged upon the Landrum-Griffin labor law, enacted last year against the bitter opposition of labor generally. Mr. Johnson had criticised Senator McClellan, for supporting the bill upon the curious and disputed premise that the measure encouraged racial integration in labor unions. Mr. Alford, in a key House action, had voted for a substitute version of the Landrum-Griffin bill preferred by labor.

It is a matter of some interest to note a national labor organization thus endorsing two men who would happily acknowledge that they are among the most ardent segregationists in the South. Yet this facet probably has less significance than the implications that lie in the personal participation of Mr. Hoffa in Arkansas politics.

Teamster union influence will determine some voting in the next election but the express opposition of the Teamster boss cannot be regarded as anything but an asset nor can his blessing be anything but a liability.

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Editor: J. N. HASKELL

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Rogers To Ignore Plea Of Alford

WASHINGTON (AP)—U. S. Attorney General William Rogers says he will not reply to a letter from Rep. Dale Alford of Arkansas, who demanded that Rogers refrain from linking Little Rock with civil rights matters.

Alford wrote Rogers Wednesday and released the letter to the press while it was en route to the attorney general's office.

Lutheran Houston, Rogers' press secretary, said the attorney general had a policy against answering letters which were given to the press before he had a chance to answer.

Alford said Rogers had no right to use the name of Little Rock in connection with civil right legislation.

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Alford Silent on 'Voters' Group; Birchists? 'No Comment'

Representative Dale Alf of Little Rock refused to divulge yesterday the number of persons who have joined the new "Voters for the Constitution," which he is helping to sponsor.

Nor would he say if the organization is holding meetings or give the names of any of the members. Information about the membership—names or numbers—will never be revealed, he said.

Asked if "Voters for the Constitution" had become a secret group like the "ultra-conservative John Birch Society," Dr. Alf re-

sponded: "No comment."

He did say, however, "there are people in Arkansas who are interested in it."

Representative Alf announced on August 8 that he was joining with other conservatives in an effort to organize groups of "Voters for the Constitution" in all states. He said the groups would work to preserve the Constitution and to defeat "all those who have been unable or unwilling to initiate and enact measures to defend our people and the states from tyrannical usur-

DALE ALFORD
ARKANSAS REPRESENTATIVE

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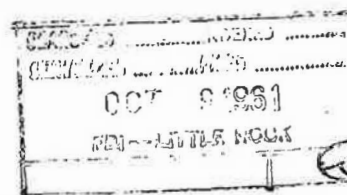
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At the same time, Representative Alford strongly criticized a memorandum by Senator J. William Fulbright (Dem., Ark.) dealing with the political activities of military officers. It was assumed that Fulbright would be one of the persons "Voters for the Constitution" would seek to defeat, with Representative Alford perhaps running against him.

In discussing "Voters for the Constitution" during an interview Representative Alford said that the purpose of the new group was "to support and defend the Constitution."

He said that the persons who have expressed an interest in the organization "feel that the enforcement of our present Constitution of the United States as intended by the framers and adopters of the Constitution will not only preserve state's rights and local self-government, but our free enterprise economy as well."

Vague on Organization

Representative Alford was vague on how the "Voters for the Constitution" was being organized, but hinted that it might be a loosely knit federation of existing groups with similar aims.

"This is not an organization and we are not keeping membership lists," he said at one point.

He went on to say that "there are individuals very much interested in this but I will not reveal their names or what organization they represent."

Asked if he meant that both individual voters and groups could become affiliated with "Voters for the Constitution," Alford replied that they could.

Alford said the group was non-partisan in nature and should not be regarded as a third party.

"The leftists and more especially the socialists of the country apparently—and there is real evidence of this—are calling for a revision of the Constitution," he said. "The 'Voters for the Constitution' will work to preserve the Constitution as our founding fathers intended."

Alford said that a number of congressmen were supporting the movement and that it originated

with a "volunteer group" of persons from Texas, Maryland, Virginia, Tennessee and Florida.

Alford declined to comment on whether there was any connection between "Voters for the Constitution" and a secret "fraternity" which Rev. Billy James Hargis says is being formed by a number of conservative congressmen and the leaders of a number of right-wing organizations.

Hargis, a Tulsa evangelist who is director of the Christian Con-

servative and president of "We, the People!" said at Chicago on September 15 that the idea for the fraternity originated with a congressman. Alford also declined comment yesterday when asked if he was the congressman.

Among the aims of the "fraternity," Hargis said, would be renewed efforts to outlaw the Communist Party, opposition to the Fulbright memorandum, and backing for the efforts of the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

Alford Says He'll Run for Governor

Plans Seen As Surprise

By MARGARET FRICK
Democrat Staff Writer

Congressman Dale Alford announced here today that he will be a candidate for governor in 1962.

His announcement came as a surprise to many who had regarded Alford as a more likely candidate for the U.S. Senate, opposing Sen. J. William Fulbright who has previously announced that he will seek re-election.

The most-often heard political rumors were that Gov. Faubus would see a fifth term as governor, and Alford would run against Fulbright.

Faubus was not immediately available for comment. A close associate and campaign aide of Faubus was surprised at the Alford announcement.

Alford made his announcement at a press conference called for 10:30 a.m. in the new Federal Building. The press was not notified of the news session until about half an hour before the scheduled time.

Prior to the conference, Alford released the following brief prepared statement:

"After scores of public appearances throughout our state since last summer, in all fairness to many close friends in every section of Arkansas I have decided to announce my plans for the new year. I shall be a candidate for governor."

DALE ALFORD
ARKANSAS REPRESENTATIVE

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"My platform will be sound liberal principles and good government by the people for the progress of the good state of Arkansas."

"For the next several weeks I shall concentrate on representing the people of the 5th District in the United States Congress."

Alford entered politics in 1960 as a last-minute write-in candidate against Rep. Brooks Hays. He defeated Hays by a narrow margin, then won re-election last year.

The chief issue in the 1960 campaign had its roots in the 1957 Little Rock school integration crisis. Alford, a self-declared segregationist, challenged Hays as a siting.

Alford, a Little Rock eye doctor, was a political unknown, even though an outspoken segregationist member of the Little Rock School Board.

But when he went on television in support of Gov. Faubus' bid to close the four Little Rock high schools against forced integration, Alford's political star ascended.

Reaction to Alford's TV talk won him considerable acclaim in Pulaski County, and he said it was at the urging of many people that he decided to enter the congressional race as a write-in candidate.

Recently, Alford said he "did not intend to impose myself on the district of a sitting congressman."

Rep. Mills' old 2nd District has been combined with four counties of Alford's district and two from Mrs. Catherine Norrell's into the new 19-county second district.

Alford would have had to run against Mills if he sought a third term in the House.



REP. DALE ALFORD

— former governor's race

Alford Reveals He's Candidate For Governor

**Decision Stirs Speculation:
What's Faubus Going to Do?**

By JEROL GARRISON
Of the Gazette Staff

Representative Dale Alford of Little Rock announced yesterday that he would be a candidate for governor next year, running on a platform of "constitutional principles and good government by the people for the progress of the good state of Arkansas."

The announcement by Alford, now in his second term as representative from the Fifth Congressional District, immediately raised speculation as to the future political plans of Governor Faubus.

Mr. Faubus is considered to have four choices: He could run for re-election, he could seek Senator J. William Fulbright's seat in the United States Senate, he could run for representative from the Third Congressional District or he could retire.

Alford's decision to run for an office held by Mr. Faubus also raised the question of whether there had been a political break between the two men. Faubus and Alford always have been identified together in the public's mind since the school desegregation crisis, which elevated both men into political prominence, but many persons viewed Alford's announcement yesterday as an indication that he wants to go his own way politically.

DALE ALFORD
ARKANSAS REPRESENTATIVE

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The announcement, coming the day after Christmas, was seven months before next year's Democratic primary, was early for a gubernatorial race. Alford telephoned his office in the new Federal Office Building about 10 a. m. and asked a secretary to notify newsmen that he would make an important announcement at a press conference there at 10:30. At the conference he issued this statement:

'After Appearances'

"After scores of public appearances throughout our state since last summer, in all fairness to many close friends in every section of Arkansas, I have decided to announce my plans for the next year. I shall be a candidate for governor of Arkansas.

"Our platform will be constitutional principles and good government by the people for the progress of the good state of Arkansas.

"For the next several weeks, I shall concentrate on representing the people of the Fifth District in the United States Congress."

By the term "our platform" Alford said he meant "all the people who are with me—the people of Arkansas." He consistently has used the terms "we" and "our" rather than "I" and "my" in referring to his political views and programs.

Alford declined to comment on why he had decided to run for governor instead of the Senate or re-election to the House of Representatives.

Last spring, Alford supported a drive which would have enabled him and the state's six other congressional representatives to run for re-election in a state-wide race next year. But the legislature killed this plan by dividing the state into four districts, in keeping with the population loss.

District Carved Up

Alford's Fifth District was carved up and he was placed in the position of running against Representative Wilbur D. Mills of Kensett if he wanted to remain in the House of Representatives. Mills, chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, was regarded as a tough opponent.

Then, on August 8, Alford strongly criticized a memorandum by Senator Fulbright dealing with the political activities of military officers. The criticism was interpreted in some quarters as a challenge to Fulbright in Arkansas's 1962 senatorial campaign.

He coupled his assault with a call for the defeat of officials "who have been unable or unwilling to initiate or enact measures to defend our people and the states from tyrannical usurpations."

Both on Stump

Alford and Fulbright came home after Congress adjourned in September and began making speeches throughout the state. It appeared that the two men were getting ready to run against each other next year. In their speeches, Alford accused Fulbright of wanting to "muzzle the military," and Fulbright replied that the only purpose of his memorandum was to preserve the traditional civilian control of the military.

But despite his shots at Fulbright, Alford remained elusive about his political plans. Early

He Hasn't Lost Yet

Dr. Dale Alford's record in elections:

For a place on the Little Rock School Board, March 19, 1955:

Dale Alford 1,898

Louis A. Langford .. 1,808

For United States Representative, Fifth District, November 4, 1958:

Dale Alford 30,247

Brooks Hays 28,749

For nomination for representative, Fifth District, in the Democratic primary, July 1960:

Dale Alford 45,528

Robert Hays Williams 31,789

For United States representative, Fifth District, November 1960:

Dale Alford (Dem.) .. 57,617

L. J. Churchill (Rep.) 12,054

in the fall he put it this way: "A very famous Arkansan said at one time that he liked to have two rabbit holes. I am very thankful that at the present time I have three."

This was a reference to Governor Faubus' classical remark about having two rabbit holes available for use in a tight spot. The governor said if one route became closed he took the other one.

A Hint at Newport

Fulbright wound up his speaking tour December 13, with an announcement that he would seek re-election to the Senate. Alford finished his last Friday at Newport. In that speech he hinted briefly at which rabbit hole he had decided to use. He said that persons from several sections of the state had approached him about running for governor but that he was not yet ready to announce his decision.

A close associate of Alford's said a number of persons who had supported Governor Faubus in the past had asked Alford to run for governor regardless of whether Mr. Faubus decided to go for a fifth term.

These persons, the associate explained, like Mr. Faubus's views on segregation, states rights and other issues, but are afraid that he may obtain too much power if he remains in office any longer. They want a man with views similar to Mr. Faubus, the associate said, but not the Faubus political machine.

Faubus for Senate?

On the other hand, many persons believe that Alford's decision to seek the governor's job instead of the Senate seat is an indication that Mr. Faubus has decided to run for the Senate against Fulbright.

Alford declined to comment when asked if he had broken with the governor. Friends noted that Alford had said nothing critical of Mr. Faubus in his speeches. They viewed it as a case of Alford going his own way politically.

An Ophthalmologist

Alford, 46, is an ophthalmologist (eye doctor). He has maintained his practice at Little Rock on a limited basis while serving in Congress, but said that he would give it up if elected governor.

Dr. Alford said that one physician was scheduled to join him soon regardless of what happened.

Dr. Alford first achieved political prominence as a member of the Little Rock School Board. He was elected to the Board March 19, 1955, and on May 24, 1955, the Board members voted on a plan of desegregation for the Little Rock Public Schools. According to the minutes of the meeting, all six Board members were present, and the motion to approve the plan carried unanimously.

But in August 1957, Alford broke with the Board and came out for segregation. He soon became a vocal critic of the Supreme Court's desegregation decision and opposed the moderate

course being followed by the other School Board members.

Write-in Campaign

In the fall of 1958, Alford supported Governor Faubus's plan to close the Little Rock high schools rather than submit to integration. Later that fall, with Mr. Faubus's tacit approval, Alford conducted an eight-day write-in campaign against Brooks Hays for Fifth District congressman and won.

Hays was the Democratic nominee. Alford ran against him as an independent but later was accepted in the House as a Democrat after an investigation by a congressional committee. In 1960, Alford's right to seek re-election as a Democrat was challenged because he ran the first time as an independent, but the Democratic State Committee changed its rules to make Alford eligible to seek nomination in the party primaries. He was re-elected to a two-year term.

Alford is known as an ultra-conservative. He has expressed the view numerous times that the American government is a victim of "creeping socialism," and that the tax program is "confiscatory."

Pike County Native

Alford is a native of Pike County and graduate of the University of Arkansas School of Medicine. He later specialized in eye diseases and eye surgery at the University of Chicago School of Medicine.

The Alfords live at 12 Ozark Point and are Episcopalians. They have three children, L. Moore Fontaine, 20, and Dale Jr., 18, both students at the University of Arkansas, and Anne, 10, a student at the Anthony School.



—Staff Photo

DR. DALE ALFORD
Announcing for Governor

Faubus Denies 'Plan', Hints Race Against Dale Alford Possible

By GEORGE DOUTHIT
Democrat Staff Writers

Gov. Faubus indicated today there is a good chance of a meeting between himself and Congressman Dale Alford in the governor's race next summer.

Replying to questions at a press conference about Alford's announcement yesterday that he would be a candidate for governor in 1962, Faubus said that if he should decide to run for re-election, then he and Alford would lock horns.

This was Faubus' way of emphasizing that Alford's announcement yesterday was not part of any plan on Faubus' part. Faubus was told by a reporter that some people

expressed the belief that Alford's announcement indicated Faubus was going to either retire or run for another office.

"Let me emphasize I knew nothing whatever about the announcement and that, of course, is sufficient proof that it is no part of any plan," Faubus told reporters today.

"I also want to emphasize that, while my plans are not made as yet, this announcement will have little, if any, bearing on my decision. If I decide to run for re-election, it certainly means that Alford and I will be in the race, and any others who choose to run, if they all stay in the race. If I make that decision I will stay in, I can assure you of that."

It became apparent that the governor was not making exactly the same statement to his friends that he made for publication. One close friend said the governor yesterday described the Alford announcement "as a political double cross."

Another quoted the governor as saying, "I see the fine hand of Claude Carpenter in this." Carpenter is a former Faubus aide who handled Alford's write-in campaign when he defeated Congressman Brooks Hays in 1958 and has been Alford's Pulaski County representative since then.

DALE ALFORD
ARKANSAS REPRESENTATIVE

LEFILE: 80-380

ARKANSAS GAZETTE

ARKANSAS DEMOCRAT XXX

LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS

DATE 12-27-61

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~~Another close supporter of the~~
governor described Alford's announcement this way: "I think Alford just decided he was going to run for governor regardless and that is it."

The governor was asked when he and Alford had a "falling out," and Faubus replied he was not aware of any falling out with Alford. He added: "I could make the same statement regarding all other members of the congressional delegation."

A Memphis newspaper carried an article today relating to a break between Faubus and the Arkansas Citizens Council, a group which supported him in integration controversies.

"I am not aware of any breaks with anybody," the governor said.

He also said that he had not indicated to anyone any definite plan for the future.

He also said that he had not indicated his political plans to anyone.

Faubus was asked if he had any idea why Alford made his announcement so early since the Democratic election ticket does not close until April 16. The governor said he might have a fuller statement on that later on.

Then he was asked if that meant he knew why Alford had made the early announcement, Faubus said: "not necessarily. But if I told you more now I wouldn't have said I would have a statement later."

He was advised by an aide that he already was late to the airport to meet the University of Arkansas football team en route to Baton Rouge, La., for the New Year's Day game in the Sugar Bowl at New Orleans.

His first statement yesterday said he planned to spend a couple of days in his office and then go to the Sugar Bowl and that everyone who wanted to enter the governor's race could "have a go at it."

Dr. Smith Examines the Big Split

To the Editor of the Gazette:

The tub-thumping, chest-pounding liberals have had their day in verbal attacks on Congressman Dale Alford. He has endured considerable abuse with an almost bovine like patience. It is high time that someone points out some of the good characteristics of Dr. Alford and a few facts of political life leading up to his recent "earth shaking" political decision.

To many people it came as no great surprise that a rift between Faubus and Alford developed. It was an inevitable condition that had to come because of the difference in the two men. Dr. Alford took States Rights, constitutional government, and individual liberty to heart and was unwilling to compromise any principles along the line.

The governor, we must assume, was also a believer in these rights, but was willing, and in fact gleefully did so, to compromise for the purposes of political expediency. He was perfectly willing to accept federal aid in any field and still champion the cause of state and local government, and as we all know, that which the federal government subsidizes it has the right to control (The Supreme Court decreed this years ago).

As evidence that all was not well between the two men, one needs only to look at the governor's redrafting plan for the congressional delegation from Arkansas. Congressman Alford was placed in a district with the unbeatable Wilbur Mills. A motion to allow the congressmen to run at large was torpedoed by the governor because of obligations to one congressman who could not be elected justice of the peace outside his district. In an election at large, this man would have fared very poorly.

A recent rumor from the political mill has it that the forces of Faubus and Fulbright have agreed not to work against each other in the coming election. The old adage that politics makes for strange bedfellows still stands.

I believe that Congressman Alford has done to the utmost of his ability what he believes to be best for the United States of America. No one can spend an evening with him and fail to be impressed with his knowledge and sense of duty. He leaves the impression that principles should stand above any individual or party.

There are some who will say, "What about the way he did Brooks Hays in 1962?" I have this to say. Brooks Hays is a fine man and a dedicated Christian, but he lacks one quality: He would not take a stand for the citizens of his District when the federal government unlawfully and willfully invaded Little Rock with troops.

On October 30, 1961, Dan Smoot rated the senators and congressmen of the United States on the basis of how conservative they voted, and rated them in terms of percentages. This rating was based upon 21 key roll calls in the Senate and 25 in the House. The Arkansas delegation was rated as follows: Dale Alford, 84 per cent, John McClellan, 76 per cent, Catherine Norrell, 67 per cent, E. C. Gathings 65 per cent, Orce Harbo, 53 per cent, Wilbur Mills, 33 per cent, J. William Fulbright, 19 per cent, and James W. Trimble 4 per cent.

To elaborate more fully on this report, there were no 100 per cent members in the Senate, but there were six members of the House who were given 100 per cent ratings. John McClellan was one of the top 15 members of the Senate. One can hardly resist the temptation to say that it seems like a man who is following along McClellan's line of voting can't be too far off the path.

Signature and congressmen who have given 100 per cent ratings included, among others, the following:

ing: Hubert Humphrey, Earl McNamara, Wayne Morse, Adam Clayton Powell, Emanuel Celler, and James Roosevelt.

Actions speak louder than words, and it appears that Congressman Alford has a voting record that is consistent with what he said it would be. He has done more than just give lip service to constitutional government; he has voted for it.

Lee Smith, M.D.
Nashville.

DALE ALFORD
ARKANSAS REPRESENTATIVE

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ARKANSAS GAZETTE
ARKANSAS DEMOCRAT XXX
LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS
DATE 1-7-62
PAGE 2E

Editor: J. N. HEISKELL



Alford Makes It Official, Files For Governor

Exactly three months after he declared his intentions, United States Representative Dale Alford of Little Rock yesterday paid his \$1,500 filing fee to become a candidate for governor.

Smiling broadly, Alford said that he had leased space in the Hotel Grady Manning for his campaign headquarters and would announce its opening date later.

Alford also said he would make public later his campaign organization and his platform, presumably after the ticket closes in May.

"I will conduct an aggressive, positive and constructive campaign," he added, sidestepping questions about what he felt would be the major issues.

Alford is the first person to file officially for governor. He declined to speculate on the possible intentions of Governor Faubus, adding that he regarded himself as a friend of the governor's and that he expected to continue his relationship.

Alford was asked if he had conferred with Mr. Faubus about the coming campaign. He hesitated briefly and said that he preferred not to comment.

(Mr. Faubus, when told of this later, said that Alford had no reason to hesitate or evade the question. The answer, Governor Faubus said, was: "No.")

Philosophy Unchanged

Alford said that he expected to be held to account for his votes in the Congress and for his stands on issues. He hasn't changed his political philosophy because he is a candidate for governor, he said.

"I am a free enterprise American believing in constitutional government. I am not a Socialist," Alford added.

Alford filed at the secretary of state's office at 9:25 a.m. after advance notice to the news media. He was five minutes early and came in alone. He delayed filing to enable a television cameraman and friend to show up.

He paid his fee in \$10 and \$20 bills and said that the money came only from friends in Arkansas. He added that "there is no Texas money in this fee." This was in reply to a question whether he had backing from ultra-conservatives in Texas.

Alford said that he expected strong support from old persons because of his legislative efforts on their behalf.

What about support from public school teachers? Well, Alford said, his father T. H. Alford of Jacksonville was a former state Education commissioner and president of the Arkansas Education Association, and he himself "grew up within the shadow of a one-room school house."

'Not a Birchist'

Alford also said that he wasn't a member of the ultra right-wing John Birch Society or of the Capital Citizens Council. He is, he said, a member of the American Legion, the Masons and St. Mark's Episcopal Church of Little Rock. Alford said that he was a member of the Christian Church until he married and joined his wife's church.

Both Alford and Governor Faubus have met and shared platforms at a few meetings and exchanged pleasantries but Mr. Faubus said each time that no politics had been mentioned. A few weeks ago Mr. Faubus lashed into Alford for allegedly hinting that the governor had given advance information to him about his plans.

As far as Alford was concerned yesterday there existed only the deepest friendship between himself and the governor. He used the phrases "genuine warmth and genuine pleasure" in describing his admiration for the governor.

DALE ALFORD
ARKANSAS REPRESENTATIVE

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ARKANSAS GAZETTE XXX

ARKANSAS DEMOCRAT
LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS

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7 Years in Politics

Alford, an eye doctor, entered politics in 1955 as a member of the Little Rock School Board. He leaped into prominence in 1957 by splitting with the Board over desegregation of Little Rock Central High School. Alford later entered as a write-in candidate against then United States Representative Brooks Hays of Little Rock. With the use of name stickers for placement by voters on ballots, Alford defeated Hays who had been the Democratic nominee.

After being seated by the House of Representatives as a Democrat Alford went on to win a second term, which he now is completing.

Alford said that he was leaving for Washington soon after he finished filing and completing his business in the state. He said that if elected governor, he intended to leave his practice to his associates as he has for the past four years.

Alford, now 46, has a wife and three children, L'Moore, 20; Dale Jr. 18, and, Anne, 11.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : SAC (80-380)

DATE: 11/22/65

FROM : SA [REDACTED]

SUBJECT: DR. DALE ALFORD
FORMER CONGRESSMAN
5TH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT OF
ARKANSAS
INFORMATION CONCERNING

On 11/9/65 Dr. ALFORD, 115 E. Capitol Avenue, Little Rock, Ark., called this office and requested the writer to call him. When the writer returned his call, Dr. ALFORD respectfully requested the writer to come by his office since he had some information to give.

The writer did contact Dr. ALFORD on 11/10/65 at his office. At the outset of conversation, Dr. ALFORD stated he is still interested in a political career because of the "good life" he had experienced as a U. S. Congressman which was so different from life he had experienced as a practicing ophthalmologist. He stated that he has learned a lot of political tactics and maneuvers during his previous political campaigns. He has learned at least some of the tactics used by politicians to "politically murder" their political opponents.

He made reference to an article which appeared in the Arkansas Democrat dated 11/8/65, page 7, which is captioned "Klan Holds Rally Near Monticello." He made particular reference to the portion of the article in which a speaker at the Klan rally allegedly made a statement, "You can thank God you've a man like Dale Alford in your state." ALFORD commented that, in his opinion, this was a "plant" by someone to do him political harm in the future.

ALFORD stated he has never been affiliated with and is not sympathetic with the KKK and knows no member of the KKK other than possibly some identified through public news media. He stated he positively does not know the speaker who allegedly made the above statement and did not, in fact, even know a West Monroe, La., existed.

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ALFORD continued on to recite that in his last campaign conducted for the position of Governor of Arkansas, he found in his campaign headquarters "hate" literature, the source of which he did not know, but he managed to intercept it and destroy it before it could be distributed through his headquarters.

He further related that on occasions of policial appearances, strange, questionable, and persons unknown to him, have publically embraced him before a large audience trying to leave the impression with the audience that he is a radical.

Dr. ALFORD was informed that if he had any information to furnish concerning any type of Federal violation over which the FBI had investigative jurisdiction, such information would be welcome by the FBI and appropriate action would be taken. He advised he is well acquainted with the Federal laws regarding political activity and stated he had no such information to furnish. He stated that he was furnishing this information on this occasion simply because he wanted to "go on record" with the FBI that he is not affiliated with, sympathetic toward, or a supporter of the KKK. He continued on to state that he is sure many misguided persons who are very patriotic have affiliated themselves with the KKK, and he is critical of them.

During the course of the conversation with Dr. ALFORD, he on several occasions asked writer's opinion as to political activities. He was emphatically informed the writer was in no position and not qualified to venture any opinion.

The above information is being submitted for information purposes.

The news article which ALFORD made reference to was obtained by the writer through public sources and is attached hereto.

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Klan Holds Rally Near Monticello

MONTICELLO — The Monticello chapter of the United Klans of America held a rally Saturday night about a mile north of Monticello, and a car check indicated that visitors were present from more than a dozen surrounding counties with an estimated total attendance of 200.

It was a peaceful assembly and, of approximately 40 robed klansmen, only about a half a dozen covered their faces with the white headpieces.

George McNeely of McGehee, who was in charge of the program, introduced the "keynote" speaker, an unidentified West Monroe, La., minister, who spoke for about an hour amid intermittent applause. He said that he is a Baptist minister, a member of a Louisiana school board and on the board of the Louisiana Citizens Council. He lashed out at some of the beliefs and doings of Baptists and Methodists and took the National PTA to task.

On politics he advised Arkansans to "vote for anyone that runs against Bill Fulbright." He added, "You can thank God you've a man like Dale Alford in your state."

McNeely concluded the meeting with a prayer as silend robed Klansmen stood around the fiery 12-foot cross.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

7

Arkansas Democrat

Little Rock, Arkansas

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Editor: HERRINGTON
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